3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is 796 this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter [351] week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense 778 growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered [272] guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to [784] their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

348 The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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764 prepare for the occasion what might be termed a fence of palm-leaves. A row of palm-leaves is set together vertically along the river-bank in front of the house, the row being sometimes a hundred yards or more in length. Opposite the house and at the point where the path ordinarily used for going to the river crosses the row, one leaf is omitted. When the family departs with the corpse, the head of the house sets in place the leaf necessary to complete the fence, and the house then becomes taboo to all passers-by. No one, not even the [734] negroes of the region, would think of going through or around this fence or in any way approaching the house, owing to their fear of the soul of the departed which is supposed to linger about the house and which would be sure to wreak vengeance upon them. If it has been determined, however, that the relatives of the deceased shall again inhabit the house, they return after the funeral and pass through the fence, but not until the head of the house has removed the single palm-leaf referred to as the one last planted by him. The remainder of the fence is never taken down, but is allowed to fall of its own accord.

768 In many cases such a house is never again occupied. This is true when the deceased is an important member of the family, as the father, mother, or a favorite son or daughter; indeed almost any of the older members of a family are considered sufficiently important to warrant the abandonment of the house. After the death of a young child, on the other hand, a house is almost always reoccupied. The abandonment of a house is a matter of no small importance to a Cayapa family, since its

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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Inanimate objects, such as waterworn
pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone 774
implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual 778
form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic 775
sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper 177
world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and [784]
even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesíl^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]

this incident and asked that his mother be punished. Both the young man and the widow however, suspected that they would be punished, and did not go down to the fiesta. The /únʸi/ sent up a commission composed of one Indian and two Negroes who were ordered to apprehend them. Augustín paid the Negroes twenty sucres each and bought a few bottles of rum for the Cayapa.

The couple were brought before Arcilio and punishment was set at ninety lashes each. In addition, the woman was fined fifteen sucres for burying the infant in Punta Venado and was advised by the /únʸi/ to marry a widower. The young man claimed that the woman was to blame for the illicit relationship and that she was always after him and wanting to marry him. After the official punishment had been meted out, Augustín beat his mother. Several months later the youth ran away to the Río Esmeraldas area with this widow. They remained there for two years. After two or three children were born to them, they returned to the Río Cayapas. This couple was permitted to live together, but later the husband and all of the children died within a year.

The Cayapa maintain that no supernatural sanctions

were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ún^{y}i/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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[784]

all right because these cases had been "settled" previously by the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio.

The omnipresent theme seems to be that a truly determined wrong-doer cannot be handled within the legal framework, and his punishment is shifted to the realm of the supernatural. This results in a de facto acceptance of the illegal act that may be very productive of greater change ultimately leading to de jure acceptance in terms of legal decisions.